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REPORT TO THE ECA CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS ON THE REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF EXPERIENCES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION (LPA) AND THE UNITED NATIONS PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR AFRICAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT (UN-PAAERD), 1980-1990

91-608

INTRODUCTION

1. In response to the worst crisis which was then confronting virtually all the African countries, the extraordinary session of the African Heads of State and Government adopted the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) in Lagos in April 1980[1]. The Plan constituted the first comprehenstive region-wide formulation and articulation of the preferred long-term economic objectives of African countries. The document was adopted against the background of two decades of deepening economic and social crisis and stagnation, a crisis characterized by a sharp decline in agricultural performance entailing a widening food production/food demand gap and growing food import dependency. The prevailing food shortage meant that the average African had 10 per cent less food than he had had a decade before, and the situation was worsening. The multisectoral LPA, therefore, called for a restructuring of Africa's economic base and the transformation of social and economic systems, many of them being a legacy of the colonial past.

2. The food and agricultural chapter of the LPA had also a medium-term objective which was that "over the period 1980-85 the objective should be to bring about an immediate improvement in the food situation and to lay the foundations for the achievement of self-sufficiency in cereals and in livestock and fish products". The Plan set a number of targets, including a growth rate of 4 per cent per annum for the agricultural sector which, if achieved, would have brought about food self-reliance in the region. Various actions were recommended which would bring this about, viz. the reduction of food losses, the setting up of food reserves, improvements in food production (crops, livestock, fisheries,etc.), effective and coherent policies, forestry production and of the total investment resources of about $US 22,000 million (at 1979 prices) required over the period 1980-85, 50 per cent to mobilize from domestic sources. Associated with these objectives were the need for research, extension and other agricultural services. The plan advised member countries to define annual targets for food and agricultural development and to monitor and regularly report on the progress made in attaining these targets.

3. But the overall food and agriculture output worsened during the LPA period and did not match population growth. The economic malaise of most of the 1970s continued into the 1980s and by mid-1980s Africa was in deep socio-economic crisis and rapidly worsening economic infrastructure. On almost any development indicator one may care to examine, Africa performed worse in the 1980s than other developing countries. Average incomes and consumption standards fell while investment and exports also declined, accompanied by deteriorating terms of trade, leading to severe foreign exchange shortages and the debt burden which continue to starve the African economies of much needed imports[2]. The stagnation of private investment flows and the rise in world interest rates did also take their toll. The influence of climatic shocks such as the drought of 1984-85 also meant that Africa had lost more economic ground than in the 1970s. Life had become even harder and more basic. Although APPER/UN-PAAERD represented an important turn in economic thinking on the strategies for Africa's growth and development, these

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[1] The official title is the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980-2000.

[2] Africa's GDP per head fell dramatically, from $US 854 in 1978 to $US 565 in 1988. GDP growth rate was about 3 % in 1978; in 1988 it was below 1 %. The region's external debt in 1978 was only $US 48 billion, whereas by 1988 it had reached $US 230 billion. African LDCs which were 17 in 1978 increased to 28 countries in 1988; and more are likely to join.

were prepared mainly in response to these pressures. Rather than being a concrete plan or strategy for long-term development, therefore, it was essentially a rehabilitation programme. On a per caput basis both agricultural and food production declined by 1.4 per cent per annum. There were also no achievements in the other targets such as those for food losses, food reserves and investment. Africa was now going through a very precarious situation exacerbated by severe natural calamities all of which combined with existing incoherent national policies and programmes causing abnormal food shortages in not less than 21 countries during the mid 1980s[3]. At the height of the crisis Africa had about 35 countries on the FAO list of seriously affected countries.

4. The growing mass hunger with its human degradation and despair seemed to threaten the very survival of some African nations and for Africa the Universal Declaration of the 1975 World Food Conference still remained a dream for most of its people. African poverty, hunger, and economic decline were, therefore, frequently the only thing in the headlines.

5. The Heads of State and Government of the OAU, meeting in Addis Ababa from 18 to 20 July 1985 for the 21st Ordinary Session of their Assembly, critically reviewed the crisis that had now engulfed the whole continent. They reiterated their full commitment to the principles and objectives of LPA which they considered were "more valid today than ever before ...". They focused their discussions on a priority programme on which they had to concentrate during the next five years. These commitments are reflected in Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-199 (APPER) which they adopted in July 1985. The Programme would, in the next five years, pave the way for national and collective self-reliant and self-sustained growth and development in the continent. The Programme consists, among other things, of the measures for accelerated implementation of LPA; special action for the improvement of the food situation and the rehabilitation of agricultural development in Africa; measures for alleviating Africa's external debt burden; a common platform for action at the regional and global levels; and the development of the other sectors in support of the priority sector: food and agriculture.

6. On its part, the United Nations General Assembly, by Resolution 40/40 of December 1985, decided to convene its 13th Special Session from 27 May to 1 June 1986 in order to comprehensively deliberate on Africa's critical economic and social situation. The Session was to consider the rehabilitation of Africa's shattered economies and come up with a comprehensive diagnosis of medium- and long-term development problems and to propose action oriented measures. The Special Session (Resolution S-13/2) adopted the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD) on the basis of APPER. The UN Programme agrees with the main proposals contained in APPER for the food and agriculture sector, including the suggested immediate and medium-measures to be taken by the African Governments and the international community, the estimated investment requirements as well as issues relating to the parallel development of the other sectors which support agriculture. For the full implementation of APPER/UN-PAAERD, total financial resources were estimated to be $US 128.1 billion of which the African countries committed themselves to finance $US 82.5 billion (or 64.4 per cent). The agriculture sector including forestry was estimated to cost $US 57.4 billion ($US 40.3 billion to come from domestic sources).

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[3] These were Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, the Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, The United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

7. The primary responsibility to implement the stated objectives, and therefore resolve the African crisis, is that of the African countries themselves with only complementary effort from the international community. Increased attention to the African food problems has stimulated a more comprehensive diagnosis of its causes and, therefore, sought to establish a more purposeful long-term direction and priority by Africa and her development partners as evidenced by the preparation of such key programmes as the Regional Food Plan for Africa (AFPLAN) in 1978 which, in turn, formed the basis for the agricultural chapter of the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action, and more recently, APPER/UN-PAAERD.

8. This report reviews the progress made in implementing the measures recommended in these programmes with respect to the food and agriculture sector. The report responds to the requirement of Programme of Work and Budget for the Biennium 1990-1991 that calls for the reviews and appraisal of the LPA and UN-PAAERD implementation. The period covered is 1980-1990. The paper lays more focus on the activities undertaken at the national and sub-regional levels since the success of this programme will ultimately depend largely on the priorities and strategies implemented by the African member countries themselves.

I. AFRICAN FOOD AND AGRICULTURE SITUATION DURING THE 1980s

9. Africa is overwhelmingly rural and its economy is dominated by the agricultural sector which supports a vast majority of the population (Annex Table 1). The central role this sector plays in African economies is borne out not only by its predominance in employment but also in the composition of foreign exchange-earning exports, public revenue and national output (GDP). In both LPA and UN-PAAERD, the food and agriculture sector has been accorded a central place in a belated recognition of the priority needs of agricultural development, in particular the crucial role of small-holder agriculture and the negative impact of the inefficient administrative structures servicing this sector. This appreciation on the part of African leaders is based on the perception that the various African crises can best be resolved through a strategy that grants agriculture its proper place among the priorities of the continent.

10. There is now a greater recognition of the crucial interrelationships between agricultural development and overall economic growth. The recent African crisis brought this linkage to the fore. The development of this sector must, therefore, be effectively promoted if industrial growth is to emerge as the backbone of African economies. And any sound measures aimed at resolving the structural balance-of-payments problems must ensure a sustained increase in domestic food production through improved technology and other technical packages. Growth in productivity in the food sector increases real income of small-holders while their expenditure stimulates production and employment in the other sectors of the economy. Furthermore, it helps to reduce the need for foreign exchange requirement for food importation. This releases resources for investments in other development areas[4].

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[4] Mellor, J.W., Strategic Issues in Food Production in Sub-saharan Africa, in Accelerating Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa, ed J.W. Mellor et al, the IFPRI, 1987.

Trends in Food and Agricultural Production and Food Security

11. Past evaluations of the implementation of LPA revealed that although the medium-term objective of the Plan in relation to food and agriculture was to bring about (over the period 1980-85) an immediate improvement in the food situation and to lay the foundations for the achievements of self-sufficiency, the targets of LPA had remained largely elusive[5]. The production levels (4 per cent p.a.) were far from being achieved[6], and no significant impact had been made in the reduction of food losses, targeted to be reduced by 50 per cent by the end 1985. Instead, food insecurity in Africa had worsened and the laying of the foundations for food self-sufficiency appeared not to be in sight. Although Africa produced more food in 1984, production per caput was only 1 per cent higher than in 1983 and 11 per cent below the average of 1974-76.

12. Chapter I of APPER, which is an activity report on the implementation of LPA and the Final Act of Lagos (FAL), gives account of the state of implementation by the African member States, the African and international organizations and by the OAU/ECA secretariat. The conclusion of APPER is that five years after the adoption of LPA and FAL "very little progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Plan and FAL, although the basic strategy of self-reliant and self-sustained development remains valid".

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[5] For this revelation see documents such as E/ECA/CM.11/37 (Feb- 1985); ECA/MULPOC/LUS/X/5(d) (March 1987); E/ECA/CM.13/6 (March 1987); ECA/JEFAD/FADPPS/87/26 (Dec.1987); ECA/MULPOC/TANGIERS/E.VIII/6 (Febr. 1988).

[6] The Agriculture sector managed to achieve only bout 1.7 per cent p.a. during the five-year period.

Table 1. Population and growth of gross domestic product p

	Millions	Pop S
World	4371[a]	
Developed market economy	768	
East Europe & USSR	378	
China	996	
Developing countries	2230	
By developing regions		
North Africa	88	
Sub-Saharan Africa	364	
West Asia	88	
South & East Asia	1262	
Latin America & Caribbean	361	
Mediterranean	68	
By income groups		
Per capita GDP greater than $700 in 1980	825	
Per capita GDP between $300 & $700 in 1980	406	
Per capita income less than $300 in 1980	991	
Least developed countries	312	

Source: Department of International Economic and Social Affair
of the Secretary-General on the overall socio-economic
January 1990, Table 1.

[a] Measured in 1980 US dollars, and exchange rate 1990
[b] Based on Net Material product.
[c] Includes a number of countries and territories with a
available.

r capita by region and income groups of developing countries, 1960-1990 *

ation (1980)	Per capita GDP				Average annual rate of growth		
are (%)	1960	1970	1980	1990	1961/70	1971/80	1981/90
100.00	1601	2191	2191	3000	3.20	1.90	1.30
17.60	5501	8042	10185	12490	3.90	2.40	2.10
8.60	1154	2101	3192	4010	6.20	4.20	2.30
22.80	169	198	290	600	2.00	4.10	7.50
50.60	556	763	971	980	3.30	2.40	0.10
2.00	590	1284	1438	1400	8.20	1.20	0.30
8.30	514	606	580	440	1.80	-0.40	-2.60
2.00	2478	3700	4180	2730	4.10	1.00	-4.30
28.90	228	293	435	620	2.60	4.10	3.70
8.30	1409	1831	2320	2090	2.70	2.40	-1.10
1.60	924	1322	1936	2160	3.70	3.70	1.10
18.90	1175	1662	2105	1979	3.60	2.30	-0.60
9.30	289	345	463	543	2.00	3.00	1.60
22.70	189	203	237	303	0.80	1.60	2.50
7.10	227	254	249	241	1.10	-0.20	-0.30

of the United Nations Secretariat, contained in Summary of the updated report perspective of the world economy to the year 2000 (A/AC.232/7, Corr.1), 4

Figures are forecast. Sub-totals may not add up due to rounding.

ombined population of 79 millions in 1980 for which income data are not

Table 2. Index of Agricultural Production in A

Subregion/Region/World	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1
Total							
North Africa	103	100	104	106	106	117	1
West Africa	99	104	106	102	107	117	1
Central Africa	100	101	103	102	103	106	1
Great Lakes	99	104	107	109	109	116	1
Eastern & Southern Africa	99	101	106	104	102	109	1
All subregions	100	102	105	104	105	114	1
Africa excluding South Africa	100	102	105	104	105	114	1
World	99	103	106	106	111	114	1
Per caput							
North Africa	103	98	98	98	94	101	1
West Africa	99	101	99	92	95	100	1
Central Africa	100	98	98	94	92	93	
Great Lakes	99	101	100	100	96	99	
Eastern & Southern Africa	99	98	100	95	91	94	
All subregions	100	99	99	95	93	98	
Africa excluding South Africa	100	100	98	93	92	96	
World	99	101	102	100	104	105	1

ica and the World 1980-1989 (1979-1981 = 100)

				Annual growth rates (exponential)			
86	1987	1988	1989	1981-1989	1980-1985	1985-1989	1988-1989
0	120	124	125	2.06	2.32	1.71	1.08
5	120	124	127	2.96	2.53	1.64	2.35
3	111	118	115	2.08	0.87	2.25	-2.58
7	119	120	116	1.74	2.68	0.33	-2.89
2	111	116	119	1.92	1.33	2.11	2.38
9	117	121	122	2.53	2.04	1.74	1.43
8	116	121	123	2.53	2.01	1.76	1.44
6	116	118	121	2.06	2.80	1.37	2.92
1	98	99	97	0.16	5.70	-1.08	-1.59
3	96	96	95	-0.32	-0.69	-1.61	-0.95
7	92	96	91	-0.56	-1.72	-0.39	-5.08
7	96	94	88	-1.35	-0.42	-2.80	-5.98
4	90	92	91	-1.05	1.59	-9.97	-0.76
9	94	95	94	-0.52	0.97	-1.32	-1.61
7	93	94	93	-0.52	-1.00	-1.30	-1.61
4	103	102	104	0.30	1.02	-0.38	1.15

13. In recent years, it has also often been demonstrated that with respect to food self-sufficiency, Africa has been losing ground during the rest of the 1980s in both absolute terms and relative to any other part of the world. Food production continued to lag behind the region's rate of population growth. For Africa south of the Sahara, in particular, the 1980s have been years of severe economic hardship and many disappointments. The region, as a whole, suffered a decline in real GDP per person of nearly 20 per cent (26 per cent for sub-Saharan Africa) since the start of the decade (Table 1). The steepest drop occurred among the middle-income oil producers, including Nigeria and Gabon.

14. Evidence available (Tables 2 and 3) indicates that overall food and agriculture output worsened during the LPA and UN-PAAERD period and did not match population growth. According to FAO data available, the years 1986-89 witnessed a marked slow down from long-term pattern of world food production growth. This was partially offset by a 1.4 per cent increase in 1989 while overall world agricultural and food production growth exceeded the average of the 1980s by a substantial margin. In Africa the welcome recovery in 1988 proved short-lived as food production rose only 1.6 per cent in 1989 which in per capita terms meant a decline by about 1.5 per cent..

15. Africa's total agricultural production went up by about 2 per cent during 1980-85 but dropped to less than 1.8 per cent during 1985-1989 and less than 1.5 per cent in recent years (1988-89) (table 2). On the per caput basis, however, all the subregions registered negative growth rates throughout the 1980s, the worst declines during 1980-85 being in North Africa (-5.70 per cent), Central Africa (-1.72 per cent) and the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa (-1.6 per cent). And whereas more recently (1988-89) Africa as a whole registered a per caput growth rate of lower than -1.6 per cent, the most seriously hit subregions were the Great Lakes (-6.0 per cent), Central Africa (-5.1),and North Africa (-1.6). Declines in per caput agriculture production was particularly low in Tunisia (-7.1), Rwanda (-5.4) and Algeria (-4.4) while Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Angola, Sudan and Mauritius had a drop of about -3 per cent during 1985-89.

16. From Table 3 below, it is clear that the pattern of food production in Africa followed closely that of agricultural production, the most hardest hit subregions being Central Africa and Eastern & Southern Africa whose per caput food production was -1.91 per cent and -1.64 per cent respectively during the period 1980-85, compared to -1.31 per cent for Africa as a whole. During the period 1985-89, the greatest per caput declines in food production were in the Great Lakes (-3.01 per cent), North Africa (-2.01 per cent) and West Africa (-1.75 per cent). Per caput food production was especially serious in countries such as Tunisia (-7.22 per cent), Rwanda (-6.11 per cent), Algeria (-4.50 per cent), Zimbabwe (-4.0 per cent) and nearly -3.0 per cent in Nigeria, Angola, Mauritius, Burundi and Sudan during the years between 1985 and 1989 (see Annex Table 4).

Table 3. Index of Food Production in Afr

Subregion/Region/World	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Total							
North Africa	103	101	104	107	106	117	122
West Africa	100	104	107	102	110	117	125
Central Africa	100	101	101	103	99	105	111
Great Lakes	99	104	107	108	108	115	116
Eastern & Southern Africa	99	102	107	104	101	109	112
All subregions	100	102	106	104	105	114	119
Africa excluding South Africa	100	103	104	102	103	112	117
World	99	102	106	106	111	114	116
Per caput							
North Africa	103	98	98	98	94	102	103
West Africa	100	101	100	93	97	100	103
Central Africa	100	98	96	95	90	93	95
Great Lakes	99	100	100	98	95	99	96
Eastern & Southern Africa	99	99	100	95	90	94	94
All subregions	100	99	99	95	93	98	100
Africa excluding South Africa	100	99	99	95	93	98	99
World	99	101	102	100	104	105	105

Source: FAO Production Index computer print-out, 04/06/90, Rome, Italy.

a and the World (1979-1981 = 100)

				Annual growth rates (percentage)		
1987	1988	1989	1981-1989	1980-1985	1985-1989	1988-1989
122	127	128	3.36	2.37	2.14	0.64
119	124	126	2.87	2.71	1.50	1.33
110	115	115	1.98	0.68	2.16	0.53
117	118	114	1.59	2.50	0.11	-3.21
110	116	118	1.79	1.27	1.94	2.27
117	122	123	2.54	2.09	1.72	1.06
115	120	122	2.54	2.07	1.75	1.70
116	118	121	2.07	2.74	1.35	3.01
00	101	99	0.46	-0.52	-2.01	-2.01
95	97	95	-0.40	-0.52	-1.75	-1.93
92	93	91	-0.65	-1.91	-0.48	-2.05
94	92	87	-1.52	-0.60	-3.01	-6.20
90	91	90	-1.18	-1.64	-1.14	-0.87
95	96	94	-0.51	-0.92	-1.33	-1.97
95	96	94	-0.51	-0.94	-1.31	-1.97
03	102	104	0.31	-0.96	-0.40	1.24

17. Overall, world staple food (cereals, pulses, roots and tubers) production steadily rose from 348 kg/caput/year in the early 1960s to 408 kg during 1981-85 (a 17 per cent increase). Africa's staple food output (see Annex Table 3) consistently lagged behind population growth during 1961-65 and 1981-85, only exceeding it marginally in 1986-89. The per caput staple food production in Africa declined 38 kg (or 17 per cent) between 1961-65 and 1986-89. And the gap between Africa and the average of developing countries widened from only 13 kg in 1961-65 to 93 kg in 1986-89.

18. With regard to cereal production, however, and in a reversal of earlier negative per caput growth rates, Africa South of the Sahara achieved an average annual growth of 0.7 per cent during the 1980s. The countries of North Africa registered a negative growth of 0.8 per cent (Table 4).

Table 4. Trends in Cereals Production and Consumption per person in Developing Countries in the 1980s

	Production (Average annual changes in per cent) 1980-1988	Consumption 1980/81-1988/89
All developing countries	0.71	0.57
Africa (excluding South Africa)	0.63	0.22
Sub Saharan Africa	0.69	0.38
Near East in Africa	-0.75	-0.56
Latin America	-0.36	0.21
South America	0.14	0.44
Central America	-1.86	-0.42
Caribbean	-0.41	1.2
Asia		
Far East Developing	0.12	0.34
Asian Centrally planned	1.93	1.26
Near East in Asia	0.48	0.03
Least Developed countries	0.46	0.48

Source: FAO.

19. Looking at the aggregate human nutrition in Africa, we observe that the per caput dietary energy supply (DES), derived from food balance sheet, was reasonably constant or showed a very slight increase during the 1960s and 1970s and continued into 1980s. Table 5 shows the required energy (kilocalories or Kcal) per day in Africa.

Table 5. Daily Per Capita Calorie Supply as Percentage of Requirement

	1980	1982	1984-1986
Algeria	101	110	112
Angola	83	87	82
Benin	103	101	95
Botswana	94		96
Burkina Faso	95	79	86
Burundi	96	95	97
Cameroon	105	91	86
Central African Republic	94	97	86
Chad	74	68	69
Congo	94	113	117
Cote d'Ivoire	112	115	110
Egypt	117	128	132
Ethiopia	76	93	71
Gabon	--	--	107
Ghana	88	68	76
Guinea	77	86	77
Kenya	105	88	92
Lesotho	107	100	101
Libya	147	152	153
Madagascar	109	144	106
Malawi	94	97	102
Mali	85	74	86
Mauritania	97	97	92
Mauritius	119	98	121
Morocco	110	110	118
Mozambique	70	79	69
Namibia	-	-	82
Niger	92	105	100
Nigeria	91	104	90
Rwanda	88	95	81
Senegal	100	101	99
Sierra Leone	89	85	81
Somalia	100	91	90
Sudan	101	96	88
Tanzania	83	101	96
Togo	95	94	97
Tunisia	116	111	123
Uganda	83	78	95
Zaire	94	98	98
Zambia	93	89	92
Zimbabwe	86	89	89

Source: UNICEF, The State of the World's Children Various Issues.

20. Food availability can be assessed on the basis of dietary energy supply (DES) which is usually measured in terms of kilocalories per caput per day. For Africa as a whole, DES declined by an average of 0.2 per cent yearly during 1979/81 to 1986/88, the only region to experience a fall of DES during the 1980s[7].

21. Stagnant or deteriorating economic growth in the 1980s led to a widening difference between Africa and the other developing countries. Forecasts of the 1990s indicate that the region could still be plagued by negative per capita GDP growth rates throughout the decade. Africa's per capita GDP in the year 2000 is projected to be lower than it was in 1985. The cumulative effect of the economic crises of the 1980s on the people of Africa is reflected in the increasing numbers of the absolute poor. Table 6 presents the results of a recent UN assessment of the extent and intensity of poverty and indicates a significant long-term decline between the 1970s and 1980s in the countries of Asia and Latin America but an increase in Africa.

22. Critical food supply shortages persist in several African countries although in aggregate the supply situation improved in 1989 in the region as a whole. Severe food supply problems continue to affect Ethiopia, Mozambique and Sudan while food emergency assistance will also be required by Angola, Burundi, Cape Verde, Lesotho, Liberia, the Niger, Rwanda, Sierra leone and Somalia.

Table 6. Estimates of absolute poverty in developing countries 1970-1985

Poverty incidence a/		All developing b/	Africa	Asia b/	Latin America
Number of poor (millions)					
1970	Total	944	166	662	116
	Rural	767	140	552	75
	Urban	177	26	110	41
1985	Total	1,156	273	737	146
	Rural	850	226	563	57
	Urban	306	47	170	89
Share of population (per cent)					
1970	Total	52	46	46	40
	Rural	59	50	61	62
	Urban	35	32	42	25

[7] FAO, SOFA, 1990, p. 23.

Table 6. Estimates of absolute poverty in developing countries 1970-1985 (Cont'd)

Poverty incidence a/		All developing b/	Africa	Asia b/	Latin America
1985	Total	44	49	43	36
	Rural	49	58	47	45
	Urban	32	29	34	32

a/ The absolute poverty levels represent income thresholds established by regions, below a minimum nutritionally-adequate diet plus essential non-food requirements is not deemed affordable. The cut-off lines vary in United States dollar amounts in accordance with each region's overall per capita income and general level of development. This is because poverty, being a normative concept, a level below which the conditions of life seem intolerable in one region, may be deemed more than adequate in a poorer region.

b/ Excluding China.

Source: Department of International Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, contained in International co-operation for the eradication of poverty in developing countries, Report of the Secretary General (A/44/467), 18 September 1989, Table 1.

Agricultural trade

23. Africa's total agricultural exports (agriculture, fishery and forestry) which declined sharply in 1982 and 1983 and more or less stagnated during the period 1984-1987, increased markedly in value terms in 1986. The aggregate reduction of export earnings derived from agriculture was about 8 per cent in value terms between 1986 and 1987, but this rose to nearly 6 per cent in 1988 compared to 1987. The corresponding figure for total world exports was an increase of more than 17 per cent[8]. Africa's overall commodity exports dropped in value by 45 per cent between 1980 and 1987.

24. With regard to total agricultural imports which were fairly high during 1981-82, these stagnated at around $US 17,200 million during 1983-85, but they were sharply curtailed during the next two years with a contraction to about $US 15,530 million in 1987. This, however, rose sharply to about $US 18,310 million in 1988 (or 18 per cent). The expansion of food imports in 1988 was imposed by deterioration domestic supply conditions in much of the developing world.

[8] The prices, for two of Africa's most important commodities (coffee and cocoa), plunged to 14-year lows in 1989 due to the collapse of international cartels that had kept prices stable. The International Coffee Organization suspended export-quotas in July 1989, thereby flooding the market causing the prices to fall by nearly 40 per cent. If this situation continues the Inter-African Coffee Organization countries could lose about $US 1.5 billion in 1990. Similarly, in 1989 the International Cocoa Organization lost all control over cocoa prices, which fell by almost one half. Countries, such as Côte d'Ivoire and Cameroon, which rely on cocoa and coffee for a great part of their export earnings, have had to pass the lower prices on to producers. For the 1988-89 season, both countries cut the prices paid to coffee and cocoa growers by about 50 per cent.

This was after a long period of import contraction imposed by balance of payment and debt problems especially in Africa and Latin America/Caribbean, the two regions which strongly compressed their food imports during 1982-1987. Average annual changes in current value of Africa's agricultural trade (crops and livestock), show a decline of 1 per cent and 1.3 per cent for exports and imports respectively during the period 1981-88.

25. At the subregional level, the North African countries did better than the rest as far as agricultural exports in 1986-87 were concerned. These went up by nearly 11 per cent compared to a drop of over 40 per cent in the Great Lakes countries.

26. Africa's income terms of trade - the amount of imports a given amount of exports will buy - is estimated to have declined by 31 per cent during 1980-87 and deteriorated further thereafter (figure 1).

Factors influencing performance during the 1980s

27. The causes of the disastrous results in food production in Africa during most of the 1980s are complex but are generally well known. Apart from such constraints as climate and geographical factors and other natural phenomena, there is the international economic setting, including the debt burden hanging over most of the African countries coupled with a prolonged fall in agricultural commodity prices, in addition to the non-accessibility to the markets of developed countries.

28. More fundamentally, however, the critical factors which have constrained progress in the development of agriculture have been domestic policy constraints, inadequate and inefficient utilization of resources (human, natural, financial, physical, institutional) and technological deficiencies. There have also been weaknesses of planning and management capacities as well as a general absence of specific APPER-related targets and institutions, including the lack of appropriate administrative infrastructure for systematic monitoring of APPER/UN-PAAERD implementation. These factors and the external situation have all contributed to the disappointing performance of the sector although their impact has not been uniform, geographically, nationally or subsectorally. Although policies talk about priority in agriculture, they often do not specifically address the food subsector per se. Among the major objectives of LPA were that the production levels for crops, livestock, fishery and forestry were to be substantially increased during the 1980s, and food losses were to be reduced by 50 per cent over the period 1980-85, all aimed at ensuring food security in the region.

III. MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

29. Africa's development planning and policy strategies have gone through a process of gradual change during the period under review. Prior to the adoption of these programmes, the major focus of development plans and policies tended to be placed on the production of export crops (coffee, cocoa, cotton, etc.) and minerals. Although there was such a pronounced bias towards the production of agricultural exports, however, the overall magnitude of resources allocated to the sector was negligible in spite of the dominance of agriculture in African economies.

30. Development planning and policy trends in the LPA/UN-PAAERD period have witnessed a wind of change blowing in a slightly different direction, emphasizing the urgent need for improving the performance of the agricultural sector, in particular the small farmer. The African

countries have reaffirmed that their primary concern is the fight against hunger, malnutrition and poverty. The period 1980-1990 was therefore marked by a wide variety of policy, strategy and institutional reform and policy changes, often involving real sacrifices and in some cases partial recovery and renewed development. This realization on the desirable priority actions needed, took time to take root among the African governments and decision-makers and it has taken even longer for the external agencies.

Major Policy Shifts at the National Level[9]

31. The UN General Assembly resolution S-13/2 has urged all governments to take effective measures for the rapid and full implementation of the Programme of Action. The diversity of countries within Africa, however, will no doubt dictate the type of policies and strategies to be pursued by a particular country. But the adoption of major reforms by many countries have uniformly tended to reverse the bias against agriculture especially with respect to policies that focus on incentive packages (delivery systems, prices, agrarian reforms); development of human and natural resources; availability of agricultural inputs; domestic resource mobilization; research and technological development; extension; physical and institutional infrastructure; industrial capacity utilization; and implications of structural adjustment and stabilization programmes on long-term growth and development. Many countries have for a number of years now been in a process of reformulating the development strategies that were initiated in the 1960s, strategies built on inherited colonial structures, and are instead adopting medium-or long-term strategies and programmes that aim at enhancing agricultural production and raising the level of food self-sufficiency and security.

32. The first monitoring exercise carried out by ECA in 1987 on the implementation of UN-PAAERD indicated that 97 per cent of the countries which responded to the questionnaire (38 of them), had adopted priorities which resembled those of the Programme of Action[10]. And as indicated in the mid-term review of UN-PAAERD which was carried out in late 1988, it was apparent that many African countries had adopted more coherent food strategies, major policy reforms and stabilization and structural adjustment measures, mostly supported by the IMF and the World Bank especially since 1980[11]. But in many of these countries, these adjustment programmes are being carried out at high economic and social costs and political risks, these programmes emphasizing, as they do, short-term financial stabilization for external debt repayment. These reforms reach into virtually every corner of African societies. They include measures to

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[9] For more detailed account of this section on national policies and strategies under APPER/UN-PAAERD, please see the following documents:

Gisenyi: ECA/JEFAD/FADPPS/89/14;
Lusaka: ECA/JEFAD/FADPPS/90/21;
Niamey: ECA/JEFAD/FADPPS/90/10;
Tangiers: ECA/JEFAD/90/23;
Yaounde: ECA/JEFAD/FADPPS/88/21.

[10] ECA Preliminary Survey on the Implementation of APPER, 1986-1990 and UN-PAAERD, 1986-1990.

[11] About 36 African countries, 33 among them from Africa South of the Sahara, have adopted these stabilization and structural adjustment programmes.

deregulate prices, lower trade barriers and subsidies, devalue currencies, reduce bloated bureaucracies, privatize inefficient state-owned enterprises, and generally reduce the role of government in economic activity[12]. All these measures have a direct bearing on the development of the food and agriculture sector. Owing to the dominant role played by agriculture, policy-makers and planners are now accepting the fact that it would be hard, if not impossible, to attack poverty in any meaningful way, if they continue to neglect or discriminate against the sector.

33. In the early 1980s nearly all the countries either fixed the prices of food crops or held a monopoly on marketing. Available information shows that about two-thirds now allow prices on major food crops to be determined by the market place. In Nigeria, the programme includes the removal of price distortions in the export sector, and its export marketing board were abolished in 1986, while Senegal has abolished marketing boards, removed input subsidies, and revised producer prices.

34. Many countries are in the midst of profound reforms and adjustments, not only with regard to pricing policies but also in institutional roles and agricultural objectives. For instance, the short-, medium- and long-term objectives of the various Recovery Programmes (National Development Plans) currently underway in Lesotho (1986/87 - 1990/91); Madagascar (1989-91); Malawi (1987- 1996); Zambia (1987/88 - 1989/1993); Zimbabwe (1986-1990); Tanzania (1986/98 - 1992/93); Kenya (1988/90 - 1993); Botswana's Sixth National Development Plan (1985-1991); Mozambique (1987-1990) and Seychelles' Agricultural Sector Strategy (1990-1994) are focused on several central macro-economic policy issues aimed at guiding the countries' economic and social development objectives, strategies and policies for the next decade, including the strengthening of economic management and rehabilitation, policy and institutional reforms in the key sectors of agriculture, industry and transport, and exchange rate and trade policy.

35. The main aim of the New Policy Objectives (1987-1992) of the Government of Mauritius, with regard to the food and agriculture sector, is to diversify the sector away from sugar production, whose cultivation covers 87 per cent of total arable land, with a view to increasing the production of food crops for domestic consumption and for export. This new government policy recognizes, however, that, while sugar offers limited scope for further generation of employment, for growth in domestic value added, and in foreign exchange, there is no other sector which is likely to assume comparable importance in the foreseeable future[13].

36. In common with the rest of Africa, the Central African countries have enunciated food self-sufficiency as a major goal to be achieved. The Equatorial Guinea's 1987-89 Development Plan emphasizes the development of the productive sectors of its economy with priority being placed on agriculture as the only means of reducing the now serious dependency on food imports. Sao Tome and Principe also finds itself in similar, if not more serious situation. Accordingly, the main

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[12] The philosophy of this African effort was summed up in the African nations statement to the 13th Special Session of the UN General Assembly when they said that "Africa has taken the main responsibility for its own development.... African countries are determined to undertake, individually and collectively, all measures and policy reforms that are necessary for the recovery of their given economies and the revitalization of genuine development....".

[13] For more detailed account of this diversification programme in the land-scarce Mauritius, see ECA document JEFAD/FADPPS/88/23 of May 1988.

objective of the country's newly instituted three-year development programme is to expand the output of local staple crops, e.g. maize, cassava, sweat potatoes etc. especially by the small-scale farmers under the slogan "Who sows reaps". Both the Central African Republic (Development Plan 1986-90) and Chadian Governments have stressed the overall importance of the agriculture sector in their effort to attain food self-sufficiency, in particular through increased agricultural production. According to the delegation of the Central African Republic to one of the recent ECA Conferences of Ministers, the country was forced to adopt an emergency and rehabilitation programme with the Bretton Woods Institutions since 1981. In 1986 they signed a Structural Adjustment Programme with the same institutions, but the results have not been to their expectations[14]. The main focus of the agricultural development strategy in the other Central African countries is oriented towards reducing or eliminating the constraints that impede the development and growth of the food and agriculture sector.

37. Cameroon and Congo[15] hope to achieve this objective through a shift in emphasis to increased privatization and thereby reducing the role of the state in the sector. Private initiative is to be encouraged through adequate incentive-oriented policies. These countries also intend to continue to streamline the existing agricultural support institutions. Similar reform measures have been agreed upon between the IMF and Chad, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, among others. In 1986 Burundi, with the support of the IMF/World Bank, embarked on an ambitious programme of economic recovery and financial reforms, cutting down on expenditure and normal development activities. Now several years later, not only have financial deficits persisted, but the country has also failed to internalize the adjustment process. The Burundi Development Plan (1987/91) and those of Rwanda (1987/91) and Zaire (1986/90) are similar in their intent to achieve food self-sufficiency and to expand the industrial/export crops.

38. Among the West African countries Benin's three-year IMF/World Bank-assisted Recovery Programme (1989-1991) gives emphasis to the reform of public finance including public investment in agriculture and industry. Nigeria, which experienced a rapid growth in food imports in the early 1980s (over 10 per cent p.a.), adopted in February 1988 a comprehensive package of policy instruments for the development and improvement of the performance of its agriculture sector and these instruments are expected to remain valid up to the year 2000. A particular stress is to be placed on increased agricultural production, including the promotion of processing, the development of a viable storage system and the marketing of agricultural products in the drive for food self-sufficiency and national food security. The nation's newly established Rural Agro-industrial Development Scheme (RAIDS) is meant to promote appropriate agro-processing

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[14] Quite often, these adjustments coincided with substantial falls in real wages and incomes and increase in poverty and food insecurity; the already-poor become worse off as they are joined by some newly-poor as jobs and other opportunities shrink. These programmes tend to be started always when a country is virtually bankrupt and seriously crisis-ridden. Countries, therefore, embark on these programmes however limited their objectives may be. Very frequently there is a severe condensation of social and economic activities within a very short-time period, an action which normally should take longer time. The adverse international economic environment has also impeded successful reforms in many countries.

[15] Congo whose six out of ten of its inhabitants live in town and where the rural work force is becoming more and more composed of aged women, imports three-quarters of its food and cereal requirements. The country's food imports are currently about 30 per cent of total imports.

technology which is best adapted to the small-scale system of agricultural production on which Nigeria still depends for much of its food. Liberia, which until recently had no agricultural policy, launched a "Green Revolution" Programme in January 1986 whose objectives includes self-sufficiency in food production, the development of new cash crops and more significantly, the improvement in productivity of the subsistence farmers as well as increased agricultural investment and employment.

39. Reporting recently on the performance of the Guinean Structural Adjustment Programme of 1986/87, a government official said that this programme had resulted in improved growth in GDP, agricultural production and the recovery of industry. But the programme also had negative effects which forced the country to introduce such measures as cost of living bonus to the poor, bonus to those retiring voluntarily or otherwise and to those opting to take up farming. In past few years many other countries in the subregion including Togo, Ghana, Mauritania and Mali undertook substantial changes in their economic systems and adopted policies aimed at improving their macro-economic performance[16]. Almost on the verge of economic collapse, Ghana in 1983 launched an economic recovery programme that dismantled the centralized approach of previous strategies. The government also embarked on a radical restructuring of the development planning system to decentralize decision-making and give rural communities a greater voice.

40. In the North African countries where drought and pest infestations are almost a permanent threat and the Sudan, in particular, where emergency situations have existed for a long time now, measures are being adopted for relief and rehabilitation. Agriculture is the number one sector, followed by industry, in Sudan's National Salvation Programme (1987-91), while the development plans of the other countries such as Tunisia (1987-91), Algeria (1985-89) and Morocco (1988-92) have attached considerable importance to the sector. In Morocco, food production leads the priority list, the next being water and forestry resources development. Egypt and Libya are also giving emphasis to the development of agriculture, mostly through irrigation projects although in Libya's investment priorities, industry has received pre-eminence with the agriculture sector occupying a second or a third place in the country's development strategy.

41. Many of the North African countries are also heavily involved in undertaking policy reforms in the context of stabilization and structural adjustment policies and programmes. In Algeria, reform measures include price and other incentives, e.g. ownership and management of land, public investment in the sector and the major support systems for accelerating agricultural development[17].

Public Investment in Agriculture

[16] Attempts to lessen the severe effects of adjustment have been made by Ghana. Ghana's first phase of its Economic Programme (1983-86) which was launched with the assistance of the IMF and World Bank, produced some improvement in economic performance (real grew by 8.6 per cent in 1984, 5.1 per cent in 1985 and 5.3 per cent in 1986). The programme is however, yet to alleviate the hardships of the poor and vulnerable groups. Governments policy to cut down expenditures led to retrenchment of labour from the civil service, hence the Government had to formulate the second phase (1987-89) of SAP in which a special Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was set up.

[17] These include research, input supply systems, marketing systems, and infrastructure.

42. The African food problems must be solved largely by increased domestic food production and not through such conventional mechanisms as food donations or food imports. This increase requires maintaining or raising the productivity of existing cropland as well as bringing new land under sustainable production. In the longer term, in particular, this is perhaps the only means to insure the participation of the majority of the population in the development process, given the relative size of this sector. The premise that the continent can achieve this objective is shared by the political leadership in the region as evidenced by the objectives of LPA and APPER/UN-PAAERD. The APPER recommended that investment in agriculture should aim at 20-25 per cent of total public investment by 1989. It is equally important that this increased investment is accompanied by sound measures to maximize its impact.

43. Investment in agriculture per unit of land and labour in the developing countries varies quite widely from country to country. Investment per ha has varied from less than $US 1 in Ethiopia to $US 150 in the Republic of (South) Korea, and per agricultural worker from $US 1 in Kenya to over $US 100 in Costa Rica in the 1970s (FAO, 1979).

44. The trends in external resources flows to Africa and the conditionalities attached to them are disappointing, thus the imperative necessity for the African countries to give greater attention to the mobilization of domestic resources. Available evidence[18] shows that many African countries are making efforts, in some cases significantly, to increase the investment in agriculture and related sectors, albeit, as indicated in Chapter II above, the results of these efforts have not been impressive. Table 7 gives the trends in agricultural expenditure relative to total expenditure in African countries. For growth rates in annual agricultural development expenditures (see Annex table 6) where Ghana, Swaziland and Zambia are reported to have shown the highest annual growth in expenditure. In Zimbabwe, public policies have provided for a 3,500 per cent increase in loans and credit to small-scale farmers, an increase in producer prices, and a land reform programme which guarantees land ownership. As a result, since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 maize production by small-scale peasant farmers is estimated to have increased 1,000 per cent, while their share in total production has risen from 10 per cent in 1979 to 67 per cent in 1987. At the same time the large-scale commercial farmers have also increased their output, by 300 per cent.

[18] The ECA survey and field mission reports of 1987 revealed that some 60 per cent of the countries which responded had managed to achieve the APPER/UN-PAAERD target level (see Draft Report of the UN Secretary General : Medium Term Review of the Implementation of the UN-PAAERD 1986-90). More recently, the results of the FAO survey covering the period 1985-1988 and 1988-89 indicate that the majority of the countries had positive real growth in agriculture development expenditure during these periods. This is in spite of the harsh economic climate of the 1980s and the financial constraints (debt burden, adverse terms of trade, adjustment programmes, etc.) most of these countries are facing.

Table 7. Trends in Agricultural Expenditure and Agricultural Development Expenditure relative to Total Expenditure (Averages for 1985-88 in Constant 1985 Prices)

I. Increasing Agricultural Expenditure		III. Decreasing Agricultural Expenditure	
While decreasing total expenditure	While increasing total expenditure	While decreasing total expenditure	While increasing total expenditure
Angola	Botswana	Cameroon	Central African Rep.
Ghana	Ethiopia	Tunisia	Kenya
Liberia	Gambia		Malawi
Mauritania	Guinea		Sierra Leone
Nigeria	Guinea Bissau		Sudan
Swaziland	Mauritius		
Togo	Niger		
	Rwanda		
	Seychelles		
	Zambia		

II. Agricultural Development Expenditure		IV. Agricultural Development Expenditure	
While decreasing total expenditure	While increasing total expenditure	While decreasing total expenditure	While increasing total expenditure
Angola	Botswana	Cameroon	Kenya
Ghana	Central Afr. Rep.	Tunisia	Malawi
Liberia	Ethiopia		Sierra Leone
Mauritania	Gambia		
Nigeria	Guinea		
Swaziland	Guinea Bissau		
Togo	Mauritius		
	Niger		
	Rwanda		
	Seychelles		
	Somalia		
	Sudan		
	Zambia		

Source: FAO Survey on Central Government Expenditure in Africa, 1989.

45. The external resource requirements for the programme were estimated to be $US 45.7 billion of which $US 17.1 billion was for agriculture (or about $US 3.4 billion annually during 1986-90). From the latest figures available to FAO, external commitments to agriculture broadly defined[15] was $US 9.4 billion during the years 1986-88 (or $US 3.1 billion per year) in 1985 prices. In constant terms, however, there has been a steady decline in total flows during the period 1986-88 mainly due to a decrease in multilateral assistance (table 8). One should underline the fact that the "content" of what constitutes agriculture will be different from country to country and therefore a typical ministry of agriculture may not always be the same. Also, the above figures

[15] "Board definition" of agriculture includes those activities which are directly related to agricultural production (i.e. narrow definition) plus forestry, manufacture of inputs, agro-industries, rural infrastructure rural development, regional development and river development.

may only capture expenditures directly controlled by the ministry concerned; and it is furthermore likely that some projects in agriculture which are financed by external grants,may not be included in the data on official investment. It is therefore not always easy to say exactly what is going to agriculture, broadly defined.

Table 8. Total (concessional + non-concessional) Commitments to Agriculture (broad definition) to Africa Continent by Donors (in $US millions)

Donors	1985	1986	1987	1988
DAC/EEC*	1426	1702	(2192)	(2621)**
Opec bilateral	126	151	97	120
Total bilateral	1592	1853	(2289)	(2741)
At 1985 prices	1592	1544	(1696)	(1917)
IBRD	260	893	452	173
IDA	339	285	408	585
World Bank	599	1178	860	758
AFDR	252	323	364	284
ADF	[illegible]	159	480	243
African Dev. Bank	[illegible]	482	844	527
IFAD	92	74	129	96
Opec Multilateral	117	314	156	119
Total Multilateral	1317	2049	1988	1499
At 1985 prices	1317	1707	1473	1048
Total (Bil. + Mult.)	2908	(3902)	(4277)	(4241)
At 1985 prices	2908	(3251)	(3169)	(2965)

* EEC is not reported from 1986
** DAC figures for 1988 are preliminary.

Source: FAO computerized data bank on external assistance to agriculture Commitments to Africa do not include: UNDP, FAO (Thrust fund/TCP), CGIAR.

Other Sectors Supportive of Agriculture

46. The UN Programme has developed a strategy which assigns complementary roles to the important and supporting sectors of industry, transport and communications, science and technology, human resources, trade and money and finance and the large number of subsistence farmers. These sectors include the rehabilitation and development of agro-related industries, in particular the development of an efficient inputs industry (tools/machinery, fertilizers, pesticides etc.) as well as the production of consumers goods and the processing of agricultural commodities.

47. The majority of the region's farm households depend mostly on hand tools and animal-drawn equipment to work their land. Their availability therefore bear most directly on food security and improved agricultural production while at the same time lessening the drudgery of

work. In general, the industrialization strategy has proved unsuccessful and therefore of little assistance to agriculture. This lack of success or failure (de-industrialization) related to a number of factors, including inadequate and inappropriate technical skills, inefficient management, small local markets, few linkages to domestic resources or to rural demand, and therefore the cause for low ratios of capacity utilization.

48. The activities of the various Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP) being undertaken by member States aim at rehabilitating and transforming the industrial and the other sectors including the rural infrastructure. The three countries of the Great Lakes (Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire), for example, have included in their development plans the development of agro-industries for processing the local food crops e.g. cassava, rice and oil palm, partly as a measure to change food habits and therefore reduce dependency on food imports. Similarly, in Sudan the processing industries need rehabilitation, while in Egypt as well as in other countries the mechanization of agriculture appears to have been implemented without prior planning and assessment of the real needs of the countries. In Kenya, the stated strategy for industry is to support and promote rapid agricultural growth and a dynamic rural economy while at the same time helping the country to expand and diversify the export base which is largely agricultural. Tanzania's programmes in industrial, transport and communications, energy and construction sectors will be geared towards assisting activities in the food an agriculture sector.

49. Many of the other countries are also paying greater attention in support of the directly productive sectors and those that help to develop agriculture. In Mauritius, for example, the manufacturing sector involves mainly sugar milling and the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) which concentrates largely on textile products; and in Zambia, the transport and communications, in particular the development of road network, will take precedence,. The aim is to overcome the present transport and distribution problems which constitute a major obstacle to the development of the food and agriculture sector.

50. Out of the total commitments of external assistance mentioned above, some 8 per cent was allocated to agro-industries and input manufacturing.

Drought and Control of Desertification and Conservation of Natural Resources

51. "Only ecological security can safeguard both food and water security and livelihood security. The conservation and sustainable management of land, water, flora, fauna, and the atmosphere are essential for safeguarding the future of African agriculture"[20].

52. Since 1968, drought has appeared as a major environmental challenge in Africa. It has become a frequent calamity in the region driving millions of people from the land as environmental refugees. It has been an area which gets focus only while the crisis reaches its peak and easily forgotten when the effects subside. It is seen as a transient event or a temporary climatic change. However, "evidence shows that such views are misleading and that in some areas, meteorological

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[20] Swaminathan, I.S. The Challenges of Agricultural Production and Food Security in Africa, Africa Leadership Forum, 1989 p. 9.

drought is a recurring but a periodic phenomenon. It is a part of climate and not apart from it"[21]. Although the climatic causes of drought are not known yet, it is clear that intervention to stop the human factor at work is possible and the issues of deforestation and clearing of land clearly come into the picture. Recent studies on the environment indicate that deserts are advancing at an approximate rate of 60,000 km^2 per year in Africa, the most vulnerable areas stretch from Senegal in the West to Somalia in the East and throughout the arid zones of Southern Africa. According to FAO, in the past 50 years, 650,000 km^2 of productive land in the Southern part of the Sahara have turned into desert. In Côte d'Ivoire, for example, about 300,000 hectares of forest are lost annually. Guinea-Bissau loses 20,000 to 35,000 hectares of wooded savanna while Nigeria's loss is about 25,000 hectares. Liberia exploits 80,000 hectares of forest each year out of a forested area of 900,000 hectares. Ethiopia's forest proportion which was 40 per cent at the beginning of the century is now reduced to about 3 per cent. Kenya's Green Belt Movement estimates that if the present rate of deforestation continues, Kenya will have no wooded areas by the year 2000[22]. In the Sahelian countries 10,000 ha of land are reforested every year while 30,000 ha are reported to be deforested annually. In the coastal equatorial countries, forest destruction continues at the rate of 5 per cent p.a. In the Gisenyi MULPOC countries, especially in the areas surrounding the major cities of Kinshasa, Kigali and Bujumbura, deforestation is also proceeding at an alarming rate. The rate of deforestation in the North African subregion is estimated at between 60,000 and 100,000 ha per year. A large number of countries are plagued by desertification, a phenomenon which is no more confined to the Sahel alone, but has spread to other parts of Africa[23].

53. In response to this problem, policy measures have been put into effect in a number of countries to combat drought and desertification. Among the major actions being taken are measures that encourage afforestation, programme for controlling deforestation, improved soil conservation, water resources development, range management and sand dune fixation.

54. In Burkina Faso, forestry legislation and regulations give strong emphasis on people's participation in tree planting and the conservation of natural forest cover. Senegal's National Development Plan (1985-1989) has integrated rural afforestation within the overall development policy with priorities on the combat of desertification and its effects, improved vegetal product supply to the population, and sound forest management. The conservation programme in Seychelles, embraces the use of improved farming systems and careful use of chemicals while in Algeria, the afforestation programme is oriented towards the protection of agricultural soils and communications network against sand encroachment and sedimentation. The North African

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[21] Glantz, M.U. Drought and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, in Drought and Hunger in Africa: Denying famine a future; ed. Micael H. Glantz, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

[22] UNESCO, From Ecological Crisis in the West to the Energy Problem in Africa, in International Social Science Journal, May 1990, 124, pp 225-239.

[23] Records indicate that the Sahel zone has been struck by 20 droughts since the 16th century and countries like Ethiopia have undergone repeated cycles of drought. Countries in Southern Africa encountered this problem in 1978. It is believed that two or more droughts that affect large parts of Africa occur once every 10 years, while extremely protracted and widespread droughts appear once every 30 years. Usable pastoral areas in the arid and semi-arid lands are estimated to have been reduced by 25 per cent in the wake of the 1968 drought.

countries, in particular, have allocated a substantial amount of their forestry budget to the promotion of afforestation, reforestation and sand dune fixation. The government of Libya, for example, invests some 95 per cent of its forestry budget in these activities while Morocco's allocation to afforestation programmes is about 80 per cent. In contrast, less than 2 per cent of Ethiopia's total budget for forestry and soil conservation goes into conservation of dry zones of the country. In Tunisia where so far the share of forestry to total agricultural budget has been only about 7 per cent, a provision is made for in the country's 7th Social and Economic Development Plan to plant about 2,000 ha p.a. Mali's current Social and Economic Development Plan (1987-1991) has allocated 13 per cent of the rural sector budget to the forestry sector.

55. The thrust of the Mauritius National Conservation Strategies is to protect and better regulate the management of forests and wildlife, fish reserves and soils. Zimbabwe's massive reforestation programme, which emphasizes indigenous resources, namely wildlife conservation, forestry, grazing land and water. Similar efforts are underway in the other countries such as Zambia's National Environmental Council and the National Resources Advisory Board which place emphasis on sustainable use of renewable natural resources of that country. In Tanzania where woods and forests cover about 50 per cent of the country the development objectives include the control of desertification through afforestation and soil erosion control, rural development and the conservation and development of natural resources. The Ministry of Environment Protection in Uganda has the responsibility of prevention of degradation, misuse and destruction of the natural resources base.

56. The UNDP's fourth country programme for Cameroon recognizes that drought has been one of the important factors inhibiting the performance of the agriculture sector, in particular in the last five years. The situation is similar in the Congo and the Central African Republic, but much worse in Chad where efforts have been initiated to develop an irrigation system. Congo's efforts in forestry development, are concentrated in the densely populated areas, mostly in the south, where deforestation is more severe. The Central African Republic has concentrated its drought and desertification control activities mainly on the rational exploitation of water resources and the protection of the environment including wildlife preservation.

57. At the subregional level, some efforts are also being made in this area, including those by the Inter-governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), the Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), and African Centre of Meteorological Applications for Development (ACMAD). As desertification is an area of concern in the SADCC member States, the organization has adopted a strategy on natural resources conservation and environment. These strategies aim at searching, through inter-country co-operation, for constructive solutions in the medium- and long-term to some of these problems. Along with food security, the containment of desertification is the second prime task of the CILSS. With regard to crop and animal protection in general, countries as well as international community are taking measures aimed at the surveillance and control of locusts and grasshoppers, tsetse and screwworm.

58. Because of the increase in the incidence of disasters in Africa and the depletion of natural resources, it is vital that a concerted effort be made towards the improvement of Africa's capacity for preparedness and response to emergencies. Deforestation can drastically be reduced if ways and means for alternative sources of energy are sought. To this end a number of African countries (Togo, Kenya, Senegal) are promoting the use of fuel-efficient stoves.

Implementation of LPA Targets

59. As mentioned in the introduction above, one of the objectives of LPA was that over the period 1980-85 the region should strive to bring about an immediate improvement in the food situation in Africa. The LPA Agricultural chapter also contains a number of more particularized objectives (targets).

60. Table 9 below attempts, on the basis of data available, to give an indication of achievement and non-realization of these targets.

Table 9. LPA Targets

Aim/Target	Achievement (+ or -)
General:	
- Improvement of food situation, nutrition, self-sufficiency in cereals, livestock and fish products	-
Food Losses:	
- 50 % reduction in post-harvest food losses	-
Food Security:	
- National strategic food reserves at 10 % of total food production	- (very fragile)
Food Production:	
- Food crop production	-
- Livestock production and slaughter	-
- Fish Production by 1 million tons and a rise of 1 kg per caput in consumption annually	-
- Effective and coherent policies for adequate incentive for increased production	+
Forestry Production:	
- Expansion of area under regeneration programmes by 10 per cent annually	-
- Expansion of forest resources by 10 per cent	-
Public Expenditure:	
- Finance for investment of about $US 21,400 million (1979 prices) plus additional expenditures for inputs $US 560 million	-
- 50 % of the required investment to be mobilized from domestic resources	-

Agricultural Services and Institutions:		
- Research/technology - Marketing, transport - Extension - Credit and other inputs - Training - Planning and management - Data collection - Agro-industrial development - Storage and processing - Agric. mechanization	)	- A few exceptional undertakings, but overall inadequate
Inter-African Cooperation		
- Efforts to promote regional self-reliance		+
- Intra-African trade	)	- exports/imports still predominantly with non-non-African countries
Implementation and monitoring:	)	- monitoring systems to maintain surveillance on development activities ineffective

61. It is worth noting that the existence of LPA may not be entirely responsible for what happened or did not happen in Africa, but it remains an important framework for strategy and policy planning. Also, the assessment has been based on available data with their known limitations. And, of course, it must have been knocked off course in many instances during the 1980s.

Implementation at the Regional and International Levels

62. Through subregion organizations, African countries have sought to strengthen their national as well as inter-country efforts to meet not only emergency situations but also their long-term structural development problems. This is the raison d'être of such organizations as notably ECOWAS, PTA, SADCC, UDEAC and CEPGL. The objective of the member States is to promote co-operation and development in the main field of economic activity e.g. trade, customs, industry, agriculture, transport and communications, natural resources and monetary affairs.

63. The ECOWAS "Agricultural Development Strategy" of 1982 serves as the framework for overall agricultural development of the countries of the subregion. The objectives of the strategy include the attainment of food self-sufficiency in the sub-region by the year 2000 and greater exploitation of the complementarity of the subregion's different ecological zones (Sudano-Sahelian Zone and Humid and Sub-humid Zone). In pursuance of this strategy, ECOWAS prepared a development programme covering the period 1988-1991 which is intended to achieve the stated goals and its basic framework is sub-regional agricultural co-operation. The realization of food self-sufficiency objective is, in particular, expected to be through increased trade among countries, especially between the Sahel in the north and the coastal countries,. The initiative to promote

regional trade is aimed at advancing the economic integration of the Sahel and West Africa's coastal States via the major products, grain and cattle or meat. Meanwhile, the aim of the ECOWAS Afforestation Decade (1983-1993) is to sensitize countries and the harmonization of their policies and legislation in this area.

64. One key problem, haunting the organization (ECOWAS), is the acute shortage of funds. By the end of 1988, it was reported that the arrears of contribution to the operational budget of the Secretariat stood at $US 11 million, not only seriously weakening its operational efficiency, but also several projects had to suffer. The implementation of the 1988-1991 development programme will require a substantial amount of human, managerial and financial resources[24]. Closely linked with the financial difficulties is the non-ratification of protocols largely due to administrative bottlenecks in member States. An example is the intra-community trade liberalization scheme which is still on the drawing board; and no remarkable progress has been made on the protocol on free movement of persons.

65. PTA also constitutes a subregion programme for cementing economic cooperation and integration as a means towards the creation of subregional economic community as set out in the LPA and Final Act of Lagos. Although it was established by treaty in December 1981, it did not become operational until September 1982 and was expected to be upgraded to a subregion common market within 10 years. PTA is to be an instrument for collective co-operation in all the major sectors (trade, industrial and agricultural co-operation, transport and communications, energy and financial and other arrangements).

66. Reduced tariffs is one major factor that would lead to the eventual liberalization of trade among the 20 members of PTA. Of these, however, only seven have so far published the initial tariffs on the three-tier system, and only five have published the first further tariff reduction. The reduction of tariffs is aimed at liberalizing trade in the subregion leading finally to a customs union. The PTA member States are required to reduce tariffs on an agreed list of commodities by 10 per cent every two years so that a reduction of 50 per cent is achieved by 1996. All the 20 member States except Djibouti can now issue and encash UAPTA travellers cheques.

67. Whereas PTA is modelled on the theory of free trade and the major thrust is to be given more to the prominence of trade, at least initially, SADCC is based on the principle of co-ordination of national development efforts with a view to achieving economic transformation with a high level of joint planning by member countries, something which requires sustained state interest. The SADCC Programme of Action is therefore derived from specific mutual perceptions. The organization emphasizes, among other things, economies of scale and is seriously concerned with achieving increases in production of manufactures, energy and agricultural knowledge.

68. SADCC has a broad strategy on food, agriculture and natural resources. This programme is in turn divided into seven sub-programmes on various agricultural subsectors managed by

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[24] The current debt burden of this group of countries is estimated to be $US 55.7 billion, and this, together with the worsening international economic environment, is likely to make it difficult for them to meet their financial obligations to the organization.

different member countries but under the overall coordination of Zimbabwe[25]. The Food Security Programme is co-ordinating a strategy worth nearly $US 220 million and its projects, in which various donor agencies are involved, range from early warning system, subregional food reserve and inventory of agricultural potential to food processing technology, irrigation, subregional food marketing infrastructure and the recruitment and retention of professional and technical staff in the ministries of agriculture of respective countries.

69. Most donors to SADCC programmes have so far given priority attention to the energy and agriculture sectors. At the same time, there is a strong realization among the SADCC States of the crucial role the private sector can play in their future economic strength. Hence, notable in their current investment decisions is the emphasis being placed on encouraging entrepreneurship and private investors into the subregion. Significant growth will, however, be realized only if the investment climate is such that private investors have confidence in the future. The need for economic, trade and monetary policy reforms designed to attract both foreign and indigenous investment is therefore a crucial factor in this endeavour.

70. The main objective of Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO) is also the promotion of trade and harmonization of customs. With regard to the objective of market integration, CEAO has probably registered more successes than the other groupings. Both raw materials and flow of labour move freely within the community while non-tariff barriers have been reduced. Trade is estimated to be around 10 per cent of total trade. These countries belong to the West African Monetary Union sharing a common CFA franc. This convertibility has, however, not been a sufficient condition to promote trade among the CEAO countries.

71. For the Sahel, water is probably the single most important factor. It is estimated that with proper management, the Sahel whose rivers and lakes carry some 130 billion cm^3 a year, could obtain 2 million ha of irrigated land compared to less than 10 per cent of the potential now being cultivated. There is currently a commitment among the Sahel countries to work jointly towards the management of the basins of the Niger river and Lake Chad. Meanwhile, the Western African Economic Community (Ouagadougou) plans to set up a common agricultural policy based on the existing national food strategies. Recent initiatives also include the "Union douanière et économique de l'Afrique centrale" (Bangui) which is trying to develop a common subregional food strategy.

72. In line with the priorities identified in the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) and APPER (1985) the African Development Bank in its operational programme for the period 1987-1991, will give priority to agriculture in its sectoral project lending (30 per cent) followed in importance by loans to industry and development banks (25 per cent). The bank also intends to give increased support to policy-reform efforts including policy-based lending for sectoral and structural adjustments.

73. In accordance with UN-PAAERD, the office of the UN Secretary-General is the main co-ordinating Centre for assistance and support of the United Nations system to African countries including monitoring the process of implementation of this programme. In this connection, the first initiative of the Secretary-General after the adoption of UN-PAAERD was the establishment of a Steering Committee composed of the Executive Heads of ECA, UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, DTCD and ISPO with participants from the World Bank, FAO, IFAD, WFP, UNCTAD, UNEP often

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[25] The institution concerned is the Food Security Sector Administrative and Co-ordinating Unit within the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement.

invited to attend. Its major responsibility is to organize and stimulate needed action by the UN system for effective implementation of the Programme while promoting consultations with the international community. In addition, the Committee carries out periodic reviews and reports on implementation and other developments at all levels. The Steering Committee, through its Inter-Agency Task Force (composed of ECA, FAO, IFAD, ILO, UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF, UNCTAD, WFP, the World Bank and ADB), also functions as a follow-up mechanism on the implementation of the Programme at the regional level. The Task Force is charged with the responsibility of bringing about a smooth co-ordination between the UN system, the ECA Conference of Ministers and the OAU Ministerial Permanent Steering Committee. The two Steering Committees and the Task Force meet regularly to deliberate and take actions on major issues relating to the implementation of the Programme.

74. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) holds the major responsibility of monitoring the programme activities at the subregional and regional levels, including the support to OAU as well as assisting African member States in Programme implementation. This includes advisory and other missions to countries with a view to monitoring and initiating follow-up activities of the Programme. The ECA-conducted surveys for example, have provided useful data and comprehensive information on activities being undertaken at the national level. In addition, ECA has organized a series of major international conferences on the Programme and structural reforms within the framework of UN-PAAERD follow-up. Among these, were an international conference on the Human Dimension of APPER (1988) which adopted the Khartoum Declaration; the Abuja Conference (the Challenge of Economic Recovery and Accelerated Development, 1987); the ECA Conference (1989) at which the AAF-SAP was adopted, and the Arusha Meeting on People's Participation (1990). These documents do not question the need for adjustment rather they accentuate the human dimension of adjustment programmes. In no way should long-term development be traded for short-term stabilisation. And for successful reform programmes, the importance of democratic participation of the people must be firmly stressed. In formulating its various biennial and the current Medium-Term Plan (1992-1997), the priories of these programmes have been taken fully into account.

75. Concerning the other organizations and agencies of the UN system, these, too, have a major role to play in their areas of specialization and competence. Many of their programmes have been devised to take into account the requirements of their sectoral priorities set out in UN-PAAERD whose proposals appear to be mostly in the field of food and agriculture. In this respect, FAO's programmes of work and budget fully reflects the priority action called for in APPER and UN-PAAERD. The new orientation of the food-security programme of FAO seeks to have a more effective integration of food consumption and nutrition objectives. FAO's first major follow-up of the UN Recovery Programme was the preparation of a Programme of Action for African Agriculture based on FAO master-study entitled "Africa Agriculture: The Next 25 Years". The programme outlines a four-point strategy for increasing food and agricultural production in Africa. Other agencies such as UNESCO, UNDP, ILO, IFAD, etc. have also conducted reviews and a reorientation of their functions and operations in Africa, paying attention to the activities that are consistent with the Programme. WFC activities continue to sensitize African countries to formulate and implement appropriate and sound food sector strategies that give greater attention to food-production problems.

76. The response of the world development community to the commitments they undertook with respect to UN-PAAERD and the improvement in the treatment of African agricultural exports, are crucial in meeting the challenge of hunger in Africa and in resolving the problem of food insecurity

in the region. While external resources may not be a substitute for national commitment in the struggle against poverty, it is for most economies, a necessary condition for renewed development. Total external capital assistance to African agriculture declined each year from 1982 but rose again in 1986 slightly surpassing the level reached in 1982.

77. And since the adoption of UN-PAAERD there has been a decline of external resource flows to Africa in real terms, in particular with regard to official development assistance, aid from multilateral financial and development institutions. Whereas during the Special Session, the UN General Assembly agreed that developed countries and institutions should not become net recipients of resources from Africa during the UN-PAAERD implementation, it is to be noted that the developed countries and multilateral financial institutions have become the beneficiaries of resource outflows from the developing countries, depriving the latter of much needed resources for development. For example, the IMF had become a net recipient of financial resources from Africa amounting to about $US 500 million in 1986 and around $US 600 million in 1987. Similarly, it is estimated that repayments from the developing countries exceeded new World Bank loans by some $US 2 billion in 1988. According to ECA estimates the net outflow of resources from already debt-distreed African countries amounted to $US 5.5 billion in 1989 alone. The conditionalities have also become stiffer, emphasizing short-term objectives rather than long-term strategies and needed economic transformation. Furthermore, countries have experienced significant terms-of-trade losses during the 1980s. It is estimated that globally, aid declined by about 0.6 per cent annually in real terms during 1980-1987.

78. In evaluating the role of aid donors, particular attention should also be given to the powerful influence of donors policy advice on recipient governments' policy and investment choices. The African Governments often made their choices under conditions of considerable uncertainty while, at the same time, their choices were heavily influenced by foreign investors and by those who control international finance[26]. It is not infrequent that their interests conflict with those of the national economy's strategic development objectives[27].

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE 1990s

Conclusions

79. The catalyst for LPA and APPER/UN-PAAERD was clearly the drama of the continent's deepening crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s and the enormous challenges Africa had to face. These documents demonstrate attempts to respond to radical analyses of African agriculture and the causes of hunger and poverty. This review has attempted to assess to what extent LPA/-UN-PAAERD is being implemented especially at the country level. We have shown that the African

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[26] The World Bank and its sister Organization, the IMF, already dominate the economic strategy of Africa with more than half the continent implementing economic adjustment policies formulated in Washington. And nearly 50 % of its African work is on structural adjustment programmes (SAP).

[27] A continuation of a neo-colonial pattern of development led to disasters during the 1980s because it produced a highly import and skill dependent economic structures that, in turn, depended critically on external markets and external investors and decision-makers. And the entire edifice was essentially erected on the backs of small-holder producers who continue to pay for it.

countries in general are making strenuous efforts to redress their food and economic crisis. The steps being taken, often under extraordinary difficult political and economic circumstances, involve, in some cases, significant increases in investment, improvement in storage and distribution, strategic food reserves and better management of natural resources. Although changes in international trade seem vital, if these measures are going to have effect, this seems unlikely to happen and so we have to conclude that food and agricultural rejuvenation will mostly depend on Africa's own efforts and unswerving determination. After several years of these reform efforts, there are some visible signs of success.

80. For much of the region, however, it is still too soon to look for results. As has already been indicated in Section II, per caput production of both food and agriculture has shown a long-term decline in nearly all the countries. The human condition in terms of hunger, malnutrition and poverty continue to deteriorate as shown by the low level of consumption or total daily energy intake during most of the 1980s. Africa is therefore yet to reverse the persistent decline in the living standards of the majority of its people (See tables 5 and 6). According to FAO estimates, 27 per cent of Africa's population was undernourished in the mid-1980s[28]. On the basis of 1980 data, the World Bank suggests that more than 40 per cent of the population is estimated to be undernourished in the following seven countries: Ethiopia, Zaire, Uganda, Mozambique, Zambia, Chad and Somalia. Meanwhile, Africa as a whole has lost ground in its fight for food security. The region's declining living standards has furthermore been accompanied by decaying infrastructure.

81. Africa witnessed a harsh economic climate during the 1980s, largely due, as is now recognized, to the poor performance of the food and agriculture sector. It is probably in the field of food and agriculture where the non-attainment of the APPER/UN-PAAERD targets has had the most tragic consequences. Many people have therefore come to regard the 1980s as a lost decade for Africa. There was a decline in per caput GDP of almost 3 per cent p.a. and a quadrupling of the debt/GDP ratio in Africa south of the Sahara. It is estimated that real per capita income is now about 15 per cent lower than in 1980. It is during the 1980s that apart from declining export volumes, the terms of trade of African countries also sharply declined over the 1970s. The net flow of capital to the region declined from an average $US 13.9 billion a year during 1980-1982 to $US 8.5 billion p.a. during the period 1984-1986[29]. The combined effect of rising debt service (about 47 per cent in 1986) reduced export earnings and diminished capital flows has been to squeeze resources for imports and investment. Per capita investment in real terms is estimated to have declined by half during 1980-87 in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara.

82. After many years of declarations and expressed concern with "self-reliance" in Africa, the dependency syndrome (for food, energy, industrial goods) has intensified instead of decreasing. Meanwhile, the contraction of the foreign-exchange earnings from exports has reinforced Africa's dependence on foreign assistance. As already indicated, however, these financial flows have not increased as had been hoped during the adoption of the Programme. There is therefore need to re-emphasize in this connection that the highest priority should be given to the rehabilitation and

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[28] FAO, Revised and updated estimates based on methodology of the Fifth World Food Survey.

[29] Africa Up-date, World Bank, External Affairs Unit, 1988/89.

development of food and agricultural production in the policies and programmes of both African countries and external aid and assistance programmes.

Recommendations for the 1990s

83. The most important challenge for the 1990s will be the revitalization of economic growth and social development in Africa; and agriculture is the decisive sector for most African economies, and therefore the agent of change, at least for the time being. It will also be essential to stem the increasing marginalization of the African countries. Agriculture will continue to be the key to economic growth in Africa over the next decade. Lasting advances towards long-term goals and improved capacity to meet emergencies will require that African governments give real priority to agriculture in the coming development decade. This major challenge will call for the implementation of steady agricultural development policies and favourable external conditions.

84. The population of Africa is growing at an annual rate of more than 3 per cent a year. To close its food gap, the region would have to increase food production by at least 4 per cent a year, double the past rate of growth - an enormous challenge, but a realistic objective for Africa. It can be achieved by building on policies and programmes that already exist in LPA and UN-PAALRD whose development objectives will remain valid for at least the 1990s. The non-realization of the LPA targets should not be misconstrued as the objectives or targets being inappropriate or unfeasible. What the African countries needed was skillful implementation and effective meshing them with other political- economic factors. The ECA study ECA and Africa's Development 1983-2008: A Preliminary Perspective Study (1983) in an attempt to translate LPA's strategy into specific targets recommended growth rates for cereal production (4.3 per cent p.a), roots, tubers and pulses (3 per cent per annum), meat (4.2 per cent per annum), coffee (3.9 per cent per annum), cotton (7.1 per cent per annum), cocoa (3.1 per cent per annum), etc. These growth rates were based on a careful evaluation of production potentials. FAO's study[30] comes out with similar findings based on three levels of input - low, intermediate and high technological levels. At low level (complete lack of fertilizer use) Africa was capable of supporting three times the actual population of 1975; and with intermediate inputs, Africa's land resources could support about 12 times the 1975 population. And at high level of technology use, the population-supporting capacity of Africa would increase nearly 34 times. The objectives and targets of the LPA are therefore within the African region's potential to attain; we now need far fewer declarations. Instead, we need resolute action. All the growth targets were feasible if resources, institutions and infrastructures could be effectively mobilized. If these population growth rates are accompanied by a continuation of present agricultural trends they would lead to faster declines in per caput food production and land availability, and a further deterioration in nutrition levels would be inevitable.

85. The 1990s can be a decade in which Africa can make major strides in solving its development problems. For that to occur, a few important points must be foremost in our mind with regard to prioritization of target areas of development during the 1990s. In order to avoid the repeat of the distorted and malfunctioning 1980s, a radical break with the past is needed involving profound structural changes. There will be a great need to formulate and implement a clear long-term perspective and not to be deterred by new emergencies and immediate crises. The resumption of growth in Africa will depend on more than just finance since the policy environment is likely

[30] FAO/UNFPA/IIASA Report, Potential Population-Supporting Capacities of Lands in the Developing World, Rome, 1983 and FAO, Land, Food and People, Rome, 1984.

to be the single most important contributor to such growth. A poorly developed capacity for policy analysis and ill-considered foreign assistance policies have compounded the underlying problems in Africa.

86. Most areas of Africa have smallholder-dominated rural areas. The agricultural policies for the 1990s ought therefore to concentrate on a development strategy that emphasizes growth in the small-holder, labour-intensive agricultural sector. Fortunately, the African decision-makers have responded steadfastly to the challenges posed by the current difficulties. The 1980s were marked by a growing consensus in Africa on what is a workable economic strategy, culminating in the most significant social, economic and political decisions such as the LPA, APPER/UN-PAAERD and AAF-SAP. The spreading demand for democratization of the development process also does augur well for future economic reforms. Africa must now move from declarations to effective action, involving, among others, the empowerment of its people in the conception, planning and implementation of development strategies. This ingredient is essential if the 1990s are to be dramatically different from the lost 1980s.

87. African countries should, therefore, continue to efficiently implement and manage the necessary and sectoral measures in order to achieve adequate social and economic recovery on the basis of the "African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation" which focuses on the transformation of the existing structures[31]. The IMF/World Bank structural adjustment and stabilization programmes currently underway in many countries should be integrated in the framework of the African countries' medium- and long-term national socio-economic development objectives. In reviewing Africa's overall socio-economic performance during the decade of the 1980s and the prospects and challenges facing the continent in the 1990s, the last ECA Conference of Ministers held in Tripoli observed with satisfaction that AAF-SAP had set the new perspectives on African development problems and priorities. The Ministers viewed with great concern the results of the past decade and expressed determination that the 1990s must be an era of sustained and sustainable self-reliant growth, development and transformation on the basis of AAF-SAP and not another decade of structural adjustment.

88. The specific recommendations therefore include the following:

(a) The prospects for growth in smallholder agriculture and for the alleviation of poverty will depend largely on the ability of African countries to reduce costs and intensify agricultural production through the introduction and diffusion of technological innovations. For the low-resource agriculture in Africa the input productivities are low (and the scope for factor substitution therefore limited), technical change to raise the productivity of land, labour and other factors would appear to be a necessary condition for achieving sustained increases in food production, especially by the mixed farming system which is enormously important in African low-resource agriculture. That, in turn, will require increased investment in agricultural research and auxiliary institutions of technological change. Research gap is notable in the higher-potential areas throughout Africa. The reduction of poverty in the middle-income developing countries of Latin America and East Asia has been achieved largely in rural areas that are highly responsive to production-increasing agricultural technology. Its employment multipliers are also substantial both within agriculture and

[31] The planning and implementation procedures must, however, be realistic, less "administration-intensive", and periodically monitored

in the rural non-agricultural sector. The primary means of accelerating small-farm production growth in Africa is therefore research and technological change[32]. This is because the agricultural sector is particularly subject to Ricardian diminishing returns[33]. The challenge will be to develop future-oriented agricultural policies that are suitable to smallholder farming systems and which are suitable to a sustained programme for long-term development and agricultural transformation as well as growing agricultural labour force;

(b) The creation of sound macro-economic policy frameworks and financial discipline which emphasize the above where the policy shift in favour of agriculture and within agriculture in favour of small farmers must be sustained and strengthened;

(c) Throughout Africa, improved rural infrastructure, without which price policies may mean little, particularly roads, is essential to broad participation in agricultural development and hence to large employment multipliers. This may mean, among others, the re-orientation of the new African industrial decade towards the local production of low-cost agricultural inputs as well as the designing of the new transport decade in line with transport infrastructure requirements of the food and agriculture sector;

(d) The economic development of the immense potential that exists must be environmentally sound and sustainable. Research on African agriculture, therefore, needs to be pursued in the framework of the sustainability of food and agricultural production. Some observers also talk of " participatory research" where the researchers, policy makers etc., must be willing to learn from farmers[34];

(e) Economic cooperation among the African countries in the development and rational utilization of their natural resources is a priority need. There is also considerable scope for cooperation in the field of capacity building, in particular, increasing investment in human resources and institutions;

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[32] Griliches (1988) estimated the annual rate of return on investment in hybrid corn research in the United States to be between 35 and 40 per cent from 1940 to 1955. More recently, Davis (1979) estimated aggregate returns to US agricultural research between 1964 and 1974 at 37 per cent annually.

[33] If attempts are made to stimulate production through higher prices alone, the inelastic supply of land eventually causes the productivity of other inputs to gradually decline and costs to rise. However, in the context of broad-based technological change in agriculture, production becomes more responsive to price changes (Renade et al., 1988), and the relative importance of price increases.

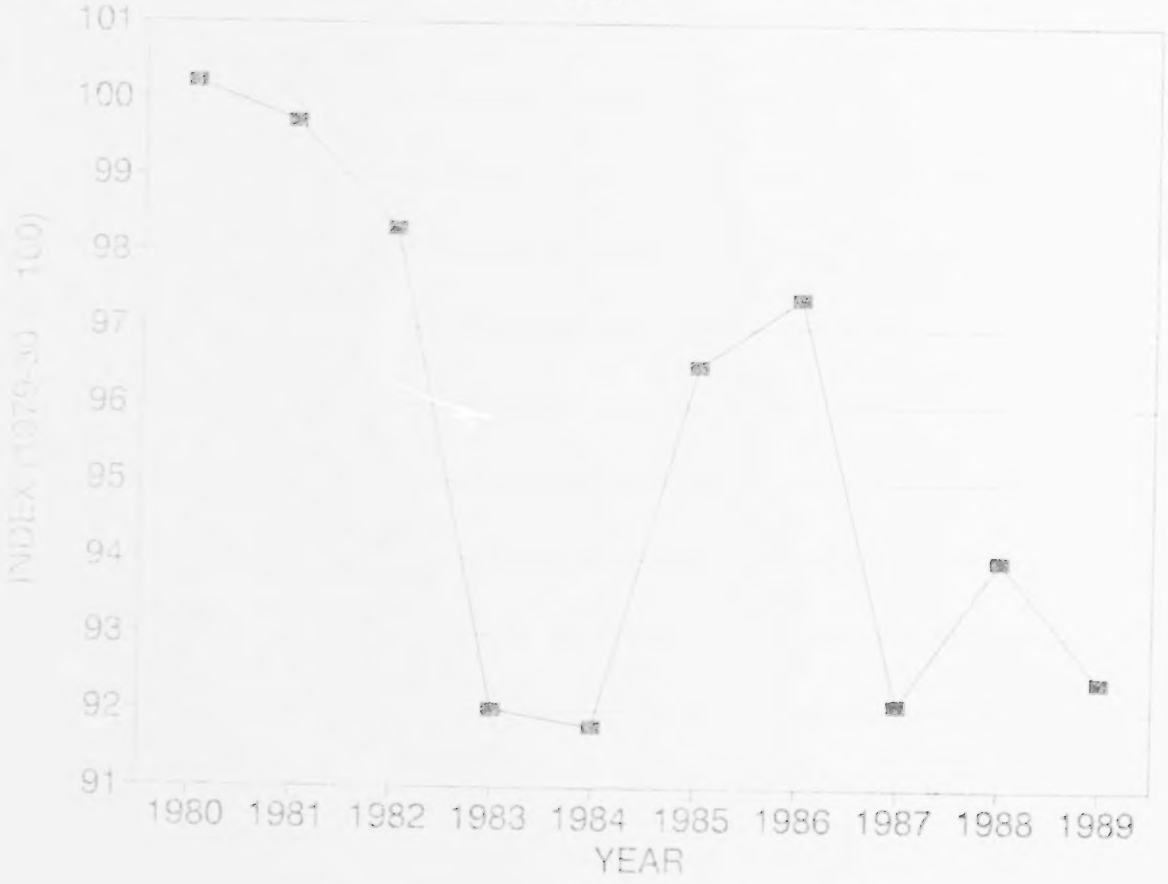
[34] Peter Matlon says that there is an urgent need for more emphasis on off-station research using well-placed researcher-managed trials and farmer-managed tests. Greater farmer participation is required at various stages in the development and testing of technologies to ensure greater farm-level adaptation. In particular, the principal factors causing yield shortfalls between the research station and farmers' fields need to be identified and fed back to modify as necessary on-station objectives and methods.

(f) There is much that the international community and the African countries can do together in implementing the African development strategy. The developed countries can assist in increasing the human and institutional capital needed for the increasingly complex and dynamic process of effective policy formation. They can also assist greatly by increasing their investment in generating and applying new agricultural technology and in building rural infrastructure. The reactivation of economic growth and development in Africa will also require a concerted and committed effort by the international community in order to reverse the adverse trends of the 1980s, including the shifting of emphasis from short-term to longer-term solutions to African problems and changes in current trade policies which reduce incentives to African agriculture by limiting market access; and

(g) The main issues raised in LPA/UN-PAAERD continue to be relevant for African development (see pages 3 and 5, and page 38 above) and should be pursued further by ECA and countries during the 1992-97 Medium-Term Plan. For if we simulate a situation where the population growth rates would be the same as the historical trends of 3.4 per cent p.a. while assuming a per caput income of 2 per cent and an income elasticity of demand for agricultural produce of about 0.8 per cent; and assuming further the continuation of present policies, then African agricultural production will have to grow at the rate of not less than 5 per cent.

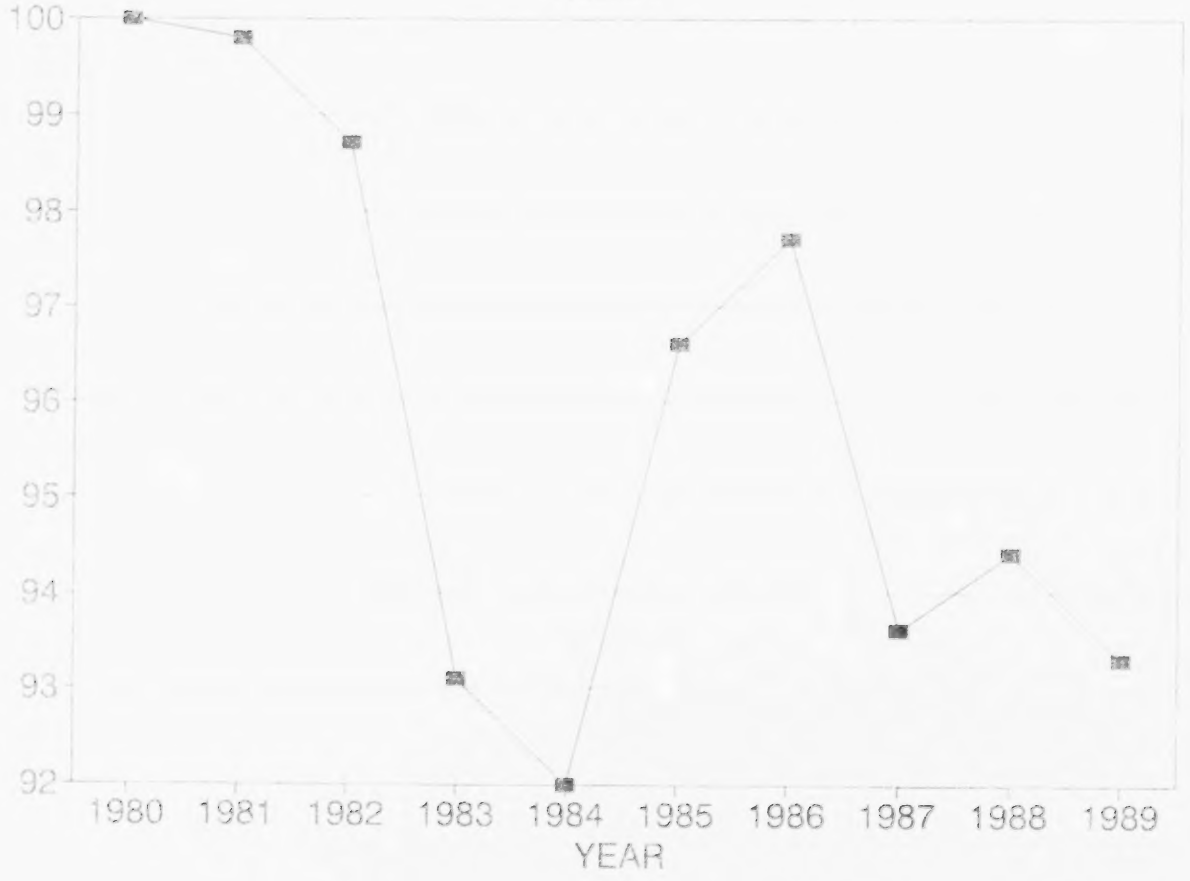
INDICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

FIGURE 1



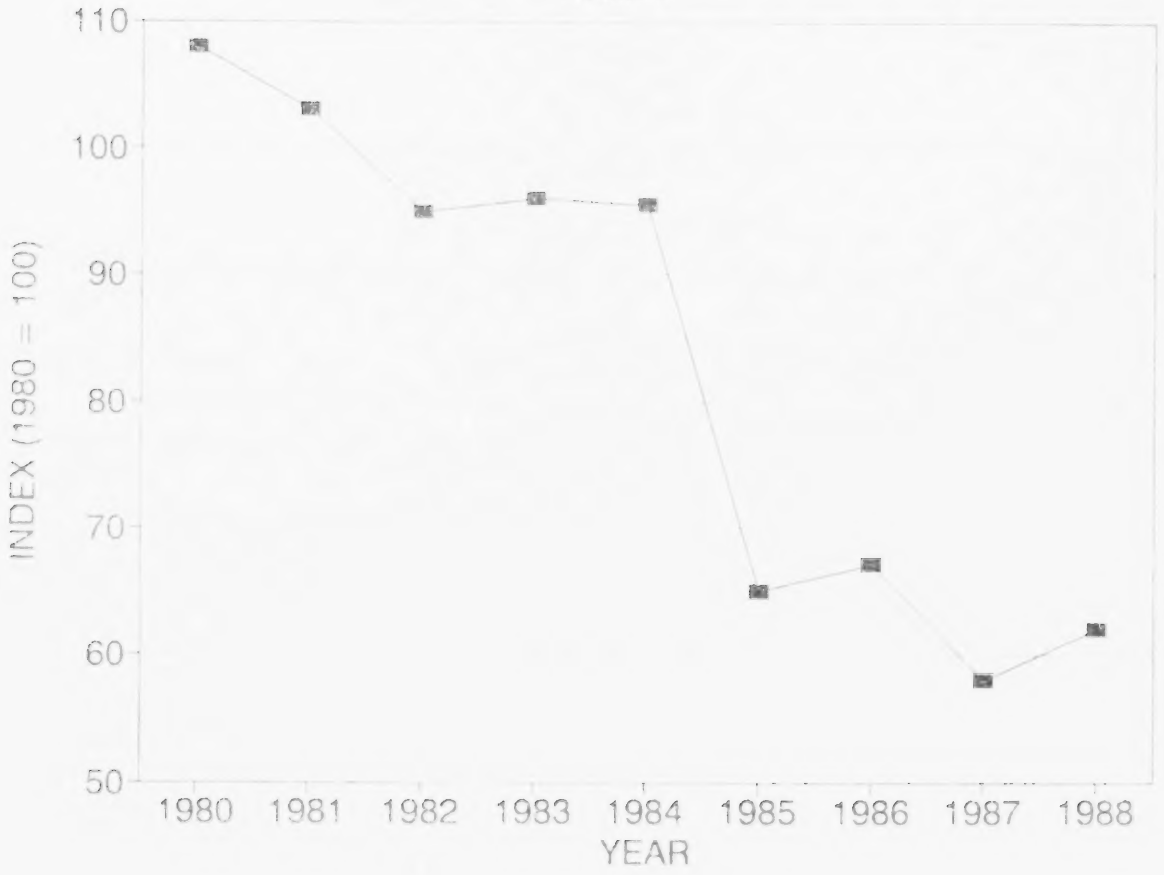
INDICES OF FOOD PRODUCTION

FIGURE 2



INDICES OF TERMS OF TRADE 1981 - 1989

FIGURE 3



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